

338

53 GANO, f. P-1, op. 2, d. 371, l. 32 vol.

339

54 Ibid.

340

55 RGASPI, f.17, op. 16, d. 1100, l. 223.

341

56 Socialist Bulletin. 1924. 25 Jan.

342

57 From the history of our self-knowledge: H.G. Rakovsky - Letter to G.B. Valentinov (Introductory article and notes by V.P. Danilov) // Questions of history. 1989. No. 12. S. 76.

343

58 Communist opposition in the USSR. 1923 1927
Vermont, 1988. V.4. S. 228.

344

59 Ibid. pp. 147 148.

345

60 Cit. by: True. - 1989. - 4 Aug.

346

61 Communist opposition in the USSR. 1923 - 1927 - T. 2. - S. 79
- 80.

347

62 Proceedings of the Central Committee of the RCP(b). 1923. No. 5. S. 85.

348

63 GANO, f. P-10, op. 1, file 602, l. 78; RGASPI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 518,
l. 4.

349

64 Ibid., f. 878, op. 2, d.112, l. 2.

350

65 Ibid., l. 3; RGASPI, f. 17, op. 11, d. 267, l. 49.

351

66 GANO, f. 878, op. 2, d. 154, l. 13 15; f. 20, op. 2, d. 8, l. 46-48.

352

1 XII Congress of the RCP(b). S. 475.

2 Valentinov N. (N. Volsky). New economic policy and the crisis of the party after the death of Lenin: Years of work in the Supreme Economic Council during the NEP. Memories. M., 1991. - S. 68.

354

3 Cohen S. Bolshevism and Stalinism // Vopr. philosophy. 1989.
No. 7. S. 65 66.

355

4 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 45. S. 87.

356

5 Valentinov N. (N. Volsky). New economic policy ... - S. 69 - 70.

357

6 Cit. by: Shvetsov V.V. Discussion in the RCP(b) in 1923. M., 1991.
S. 10.

358

7 GANO. F. P-1. Op. 2. D. 266. L. 31.

359

8 Ibid. F. 2. Op. 2. D. 116. L. 3.

360

9 True. Jan 3, 1923

361

10 RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 14. D. 688. L. 156, 157; GANO. F. P-1. Op.
2. D. 161. L. 261.

362

11 GANO. F. P-1. Op. 2. D. 245. L. 192.

363

12 days. 1924. Feb. 15

364

13 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1990. No. 5. S. 166.

365

14 RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 84. D. 397. L. 99.

15 Rogalina N.L. NEP as reform. (Agrarian aspect) // NEP in the context of the historical development of Russia in the twentieth century. - M., 2001. - S. 226; Khanin G. How NEP died // Motherland. 1989. No. 7. - P. 80

367

16 Reiman M. Perestroika and the study of Soviet history // Vopr. stories. 1989. No. 12. S. 152.

368

17 RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 84. D. 397. L. 96.

369

18 GANO. F. P-2. Op. 2. D. 47. L. 372v.

370

19 Ibid. L. 521.

371

20 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1990. No. 5. S. 167.

372

21 GANO. F. P-1. Op. 2. D. 266. L. 31.

373

22 Thirteenth Conference of the RCP(b): Bulletin. M., 1924. S.
8.

374

23 History of the socialist economy. M., 1976. T. 2. S. 41.

375

24 The issue of the grain market in Russia and in the world was considered in detail in the articles of A. Yugov, published in the newspaper Socialist Vestnik on October 1, November 27, 1923.

376

25 Hayek F. The Road to Slavery // Vopr. philosophy. 1990. No. 10.
S. 133.

377

26 Questions of history. 1988. No. 9. S. 17.

378

27 RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 3. D. 391. L. 9.

379

28 Ibid. Op. 84. D. 607. L. 81, 84.

380

29 GANO. F. P-2. Op. 2. D. 112. L. 8.

30 Korzhikhina T.P., Stepanyuk A.D. From the history of public organizations // Historians argue. 13 conversations. M., 1988. S. 422; Lebina N. B. Shadow aspects of the life of the Soviet city in the 20s - 30s // Questions of history. - 1994. - No. 2.- P. 41.

382

31 RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 84. D. 163. L. 15.

383

32 GANO. F. P-2. Op. 2. D. 21. L. 13.

33 Ibid. F. 1. Op. 2a. D. 53. L. 11 - 13; Ilinykh V.A. Grain procurement campaign of 1924/25: OGPU as an instrument of market regulation. Document. publication // Humanities in Siberia. - 1996. - No. 2. - S. 67 - 72.

385

34 GANO. F. 1. Op. 2a. D. 53. L. 13.

386

35 Ibid. L. 11 13.

387

36 Ibid. F. 1. Op. 2a. D. 53. L. 96.

388

37 RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 84. D. 869. L. 97.

389

38 GANO. F. P-2. Op. 2. D. 21. L. 165.

390

39 Ibid. L. 211 212.

391

40 See: Goland Yu. Crises that destroyed the NEP. M., 1991. S. 5
12.

392

41 GANO. F. 1. Op. 2a. D. 51. L. 632.

393

42 Pinsker B.S. Trends and contradictions in the development of cooperation in the conditions of NEP // NEP Russia: politics, economics, culture. Novosibirsk, 1991. S. 86.

394

43 GANO. F. 1. Op. 2. D. 50. L. 58.

395

44 of the CPSU in resolutions and decisions of congresses, conferences and plenums of the Central Committee. - M., 1970. - T. 3. - S. 250, 328.

396

45 GANO. F. 20. Op. 2. D. 8. L. 2 3.

397

46 A verbatim record of this meeting has been preserved. -
RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 84. D. 657. L. 3 4 rev.

398

47 Gorinov M.M. The Soviet country in the late 20s and early 30s // Vopr. stories. 1990. No. 11. S. 33.

399

48 GANO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 1333. L. 20.

400

49 Gorinov M.M. Soviet country ... S. 33.

401

50 GANO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 927. L. 24.

402

51 Handbook of a party worker. M., 1924. Issue. 4. S. 121 122.

403

52 Khanin G. How NEP died // Motherland. 1989. No. 7. S. 85.

404

53 days. 1924. 1 Apr.

405

54 Ibid.

406

55 GANO. F. 1. Op. 2. D. 50. L. 56.

407

56 GARF. F. 1235. Op. 101. D. 4. L. 93.

408

57 days. Feb. 6, 1924; RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 84. D. 485. L. 8.

409

58 Socialist Bulletin. 1924. 8 Oct.

410

59 GANO. F. P-2. Op. 2. D. 123. L. 143.

411

60 Ibid. F. 20. Op. 2. D. 57. L. 4 6.

412

61 Socialist Bulletin. 1924. 25 Jan.

413

1 Cited. by: Oreshin B., Rubtsov A. Stalinism: ideology and consciousness
// Comprehend the cult of Stalin. - M., S. 563 564.

2 Testimony of L. Trotsky: "I remember that a great impression was made on Lenin by a message about how I had summoned a company of the Lithuanian regiment by written order to ensure the publication of our party and Soviet newspaper. Lenin was delighted, expressed in exclamations, laughter, rubbing hands. Then he became more silent, thought and said: "Well, it's possible and so. If only to take power" "/ / History of the Russian Revolution. Berlin, 1933. T. I. S. 50.

415

3 Marx K., Engels F. Op. T. 18. S. 521.

416

4 Nilov G. How Stalin rose. An attempt at a hypothesis // Country and peace (Munich). 1988. No. 5. S. 33.

417

5 Doroshenko V. Lenin against Stalin. 1922 - 1923 // Star. - 1990.
- No. 4. - P. 129.

6 Speech by V.S. Lelchuk at a meeting of the "round table": the Soviet Union in the 20s // Vopr. stories. 1988. No. 9. S. 13 21; Startsev V.I. Political leaders of the Soviet state in 1922 early 1923 // History of the USSR. 1988. No. 5; Naumov V.P., Kurin L.L. Lenin's testament // Historians argue. Thirteen Conversations. M., 1988; Yakovlev E. The last incident. Synopsis of Vladimir Ilyich's drama // Moscow News. 1989. - Jan. 22; Naumov V. 1923: the fate of the Leninist alternative // Kommunist. 1991. No. 5; Buranov Yu.A. On the history of Lenin's "political testament" (1922-1923) // Vopr. history of the CPSU. 1991. No. 4 and others.

7 Zhuravlev V.V., Nenarokov A.P. New facts and documents from the history of the formation of the USSR // Historians argue. 13 conversations. M., 1988. S. 191 227.

8 Letter to G.L. Shklovsky published in Zh. "News of the Central Committee of the CPSU". - 1989. No. 12. - P. 201. Letter to F.E. Dzerzhinsky is so striking in content that G. Nazarov, who found it, managed to publish this text only in Zh. "Miracles and Adventures". - 1999. - No. 6. - P. 34 - 35. It is enough to quote the beginning of the letter: "Dear Felix !!! Everything that happened to me, it seems to me, was the work of Stalin and those who were with him. It's horrible. I was actually isolated from the party and society. Security was doubled yesterday. Now they number about a hundred people. They even gave me paths, along which I must, you see, walk. It's simply not allowed on other paths !!! ...".

421

9 Felshtinsky Yu.G. The mystery of Lenin's death // Questions of history. - 1999. - No. 1. - P. 37.

422

10 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 45. S. 248 249.

423

11 Simonov N.S. Reform of the political system: intentions and reality (1921-1923) // Vopr. history of the CPSU. 1991. No. 1. S. 47.

12 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 45. S. 327; Naumov V. 1923: the fate of the Leninist alternative // Kommunist. 1991. No. 5. S. 37 38.

425

13 Op. by: Naumov V. 1923 ... S. 36; IN AND. Lenin.
unknown documents. 1891 - 1922 - M., 1999. - S. 544.

14 In modern Russian historiography, there is a very original point of view of V.A. Sakharova, who not only denies the fact of the confrontation between Lenin and Stalin in 1922-1923, but also assesses it as a historical falsification. In his opinion, it was undertaken by N.S. Khrushchev, who "made a decisive break with Bolshevism and Marxism and abruptly changed the course of socialist construction." At the heart of this falsification, according to Sakharov, is Trotsky's historical concept. Based on the existing facts of using Stalin by Lenin for the organizational deterrence of Trotsky, he believes that Trotsky was the initiator and driving force behind the political intrigue that was waged around the sick Lenin. Stalin, on the other hand, was "a person who was not interested in it, since it was directed both politically and personally against him." Sakharov sees one of the grounds for asserting the decisive role of Trotsky in the "intrigue" around the ailing Lenin in the emphasized benevolence towards him in the Letter to the Congress. In other works related to the so-called testament of Lenin, according to Sakharov, controversy was revealed "on the whole range of issues that in the last two years politically and personally divorced him from Trotsky." As for Lenin and Stalin, their "differences were of a tactical rather than fundamental nature" and "were eliminated, if not without a trace for their relations, then quite quickly and in working order, with considerable compliance in these matters on the part of I.V. Stalin" - Sakharov V.A. Historical legends in the political struggle // Russia in the XX century. The fate of historical science. Under total ed. corresponding member RAS A.N. Sakharov. - M., 1996. - S. 649 - 669.

427

15 Trotsky L. Stalin's school of falsification // Vopr. stories. 1989. No. 9. S. 120 121.

428

16 Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Biographical chronicle. T. 12. M., 1982. S. 512, 541 542.

429

17 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1989. No. 12. S. 191.

430

18 Ibid.

431

19 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 54. S. 674 675.

432

20 Biographical chronicle. T. 12. S. 542, 544, 546.

433

21 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. - T. 45. - S.?

434

22 Ibid. S. 346.

435

23 True. 1923. 28 Nov.

436

24 Buranov Yu.A. On the history of Lenin's "political testament" (1922-1923) // Vopr. history of the CPSU. 1991. No. 4. S. 54.

437

25 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1989. No. 11. P. 180.

438

26 GANO. F. P-1. Op. 2. D. 241. L. 22.

439

27 True. 1923. March 14.

440

28 Op. by: Naumov V. 1923 ... S. 41.

441

29 XII Congress of the RCP(b). April 17 - 25, 1923 Stenograph. report. – M., 1968. S. 649.

442

30 Ibid. S. 702.

443

31 Bazhanov B. Memoirs of the former secretary of Stalin. Paris, 1980. S. 124.

444

32 Trotsky L. Stalin. - M., 1990. T. 2. S. 246.

445

33 Around Lenin's "Letter to the Congress" // News of the Central Committee of the CPSU.
1990. No. 1. S. 157 159.

446

34 Trotsky L. Portraits of revolutionaries / Comp. Y. Felshtinsky.
Vermont, 1988, p. 132.

447

35 Buranov Yu.A. To the history of Lenin's "political wills" // Vopr. history of the CPSU. 1991. No. 4. S. 48.

448

36 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 54. S. 329.

449

37 Communist opposition in the USSR. 1923 - 1988. - Vermont, 1988 (M., 1990). - T. 1. S. 89.

450

38 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1989. No. 4. S. 188.

451

39 Trotsky L. My life. Autobiographical experience. Berlin, 1930
(M., 1990). Part II. S. 219.

40 There is no direct evidence to this effect, but there is indirect evidence. This is a typewritten note signed by Stalin, dated March 23, 1926, and marked "personal. arch. St.": "T. Trotsky! If it is convenient for you, let's talk about Chinese affairs today at 4 o'clock in the Central Committee"; Apparently, he changed his mind about sending her and entrusted this matter to L.P. Serebryakov. Serebryakov's letters to Stalin dated March 27 and Trotsky's letters to Serebryakov dated April 2 have been preserved. The latter, in particular, said: "I understood the matter in such a way that a private conversation was aimed at eliminating the accusations and insinuations about the stone in the bosom and creating conditions for more friendly work, of course, on the basis of the decisions of the Fourteenth Congress. True, it seemed to me somewhat strange that Stalin, with whom we work together in the Politburo, turns in such a roundabout way after we had a conversation with him on the same topics. But I thought it would be absurd, for formally organizational reasons, to refuse a conversation that Stalin proposed on behalf of a certain part of the Politburo (I think on behalf of four of its members). There is also a personal statement by Stalin of October 26, 1924, from which it is clear how much he did not want to disclose his reciprocal steps towards Trotsky: I consider and have always considered it unnatural and anti-Party... Attempts to form a bloc with Trotsky did indeed take place after the 12th Congress, but not on my part, but on the part of Zinoviev and some other comrades...". (Meaning the Kislovodsk meeting in the summer of 1923 - I.P.). - RGASPI. F. 558. Op. 11. D.126. L. 70; D. 816. L. 85; Bolshevik leadership. Correspondence. 1912 - 1927. - M., 1996. - S. 324 - 325.

41 In the course of working on the book, Trotsky prepared an article in which he said that Lenin asked Stalin to give him poison, that Stalin tried to get the sanction of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev for the "suicide" of Lenin, that this sanction to Stalin, on the initiative of Trotsky, was refused, but in the end, Stalin, apparently, managed to poison Lenin. SOUTH. Felshtinsky writes that "at that time no one was interested in Trotsky's revelations. The "leftists" who sympathized with the Soviet Union did not want to compromise Stalin and the socialist system. The anti-Soviet "rightists" suspected Trotsky of lying just as much as they suspected any other communist. And absolutely everyone did not understand the globality and scale of the Stalinist criminal regime. An article for Life magazine, completed October 13, 1939, was never published there. Trotsky wrote to his translator C. Malamut: "I am afraid that the Stalinists are conducting some kind of intrigue in Life ... I still have not received any answer from the editors. Don't you know what's the matter? On August 10, 1940, having lost 10 months, a desperate Trotsky published an article in a truncated form in the journal Liberty. After 10 days, he was killed by an NKVD agent. – Felshtinsky Yu.G. The mystery of Lenin's death // Questions of history. - 1999. - No. 1. - P. 43.

454

42 See: Doroshenko V. Lenin against Stalin. 1922 - 1923 // Star. 1990. No. 4. S. 129 135.

455

43 XII Congress of the RCP(b). pp. 816 819.

456

44 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1990. No. 9. S. 158.

457

45 Ibid. S. 161.

46 Ibid. P. 156. V.A. Kumanev and I.S. Kulikov in the book "Confrontation: Krupskaya - Stalin" (M., 1994) published an excerpt from a letter from N.K. Krupskaya to the Central Control Commission, which dealt with the case of the so-called faction of Georgian nationalists after the death of Lenin: "Dear friends, you know how close Vladimir Ilyich took Georgian affairs to his heart ... I will never forget the terrible days of the beginning of March last year, when Vladimir Ilyich, leaving life, losing consciousness, he spoke only about this matter ... "- Decree op. – S. 30.

459

1 Eighth Congress of the RCP(b). pp. 397 398.

460

2 X Congress of the RCP(b). S. 100.

3 Gefter M.Ya. Stalin died yesterday... // Working class and the modern world. 1988. No. 1. P. 115. Gefter back in the 1960s. discovered Lenin's 1921 letter to the French communist Jacques Sadoul: "The Jacobin workers are more insightful, more firm than the bourgeois Jacobins, and had the courage and wisdom to Thermidorize themselves." Based on this, he made the following conclusion: "Self-thermidorization" as Lenin's "choice and exit", the NEP alternative to October as a new world policy" - "this is not only the final chord, but also the leitmotif of his estimates, decisions, disagreements even with those close to him. Thought growing in loneliness that precedes silence. – Gefter M.Ya. From those and these years. - M., 1991. - S. 252, 254. According to E.G. Plimak and I.K. Pantin, "speaking of Lenin, any researcher should include in the scope of analysis the "self-thermidorization" of the Bolsheviks." - Decree of author. Drama of Russian reforms and revolutions. - M., 2000. - S. 66, 342.

462

4 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1989. No. 9. S. 199.

463

5 Ibid. pp. 192 193.

464

6 Ibid. S. 196.

465

7 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 45. S. 557 - 558; News of the Central Committee CPSU. - 1989. - No. 9. - P. 203.

466

8 Doroshenko V. Lenin against Stalin // Zvezda. 1990. 4. S. 113.

467

9 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1989. No. 9. S. 208 209.

468

10 Ibid. S. 191.

469

11 Ibid. P.206.

470

12 Ibid. - S. 211.

471

13 Ibid. S. 208.

472

14 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 45. S. 214.

473

15 See for example: Zhuravlev V.V., Nenarokov A.P. New facts and documents from the history of the formation of the USSR // Historians argue ... S. 213.

474

16 Zhuravlev V.V., Nenarokov A.P. Georgian Incident // Is it true. 1988. 12 Aug. They are. New facts and documents... S. 213 224.

475

17 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. - T. 54. - S. 300.

476

18 Zhuravlev V.V., Nenarokov A.P. New facts and documents ... -
S. 213.

477

19 Felshtinsky Yu.G. The mystery of Lenin's death // Questions of history.
- 1999. - No. 1. - P. 43.

478

20 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 45. S. 356.

479

21 Ibid. pp. 360 361.

480

22 Doroshenko V. Lenin against Stalin. 1922 - 1923 // Star. 1990.
No. 4. S. 121.

481

23 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 45. S. 361 362.

482

41 Ibid. S. 346.

483

25 Zhuravlev V.V., Nenarokov A.P. New facts and documents...
S. 221; RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 3. D. 341. L. 9 - 15.

484

26 See: Doroshenko V. The case of insulting N.K. Krupskaya // Science in Siberia. 1991. No. 4.

485

27 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1989. No. 12. S. 198.

486

28 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 54. S. 329 330.

487

29 RGASPI. F 17. Op. 2. D. 93. L. 3.

488

30 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1989. No. 9. S. 206.

489

31 RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 2. D. 88. L. 1.

490

32 Lenin V.I. Full coll. op. T. 54. S. 330.

491

33 GANO. F. P-10. Op. 1. D. 622. L. 47, 54.

492

34 Ibid. D. 487. L. 17.

493

35 RGASPI. F. 50. Op. 1. D. 1. L. 74 - 77.

494

36 Ibid. F. 17. Op. 3. D. 342. L. 5.

495

38 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. - 1990. - No. 9. - S. 153 - 154.

496

32 Biographical chronicle. T. 12. S. 607.

497

39 XII Congress of the RCP(b). pp. 576, 582.

498

40 Ibid. S. 607.

499

41 Ibid. S. 615.

500

42 Ibid. pp. 589 590.

501

43 True, it should be added that further organization continued for more than a year: this was the 4th meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with senior officials of the national republics and regions on June 9, 12, 1923 (See: Secrets of National Policy of the Central Committee of the RCP. Verbatim report of the secret IV meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP, 1923. - M., 1992), as well as three sessions of the All-Union Central Executive Committee of the USSR and the II All-Union Congress of Soviets, on January 31, 1924, which adopted the first Constitution of the USSR.

502

44 XII Congress of the RCP(b). S. 615.

503

45 Nenarokov A. Fundamentals of the national policy of the party (1903-1924) // Kommunist. 1990. No. 14. S. 102.

504

1 Felshtinsky Yu.G. The mystery of Lenin's death // Questions of history. - 1999. - No. 1. - P. 56.

505

2 The first publication of the article by B. Ravdin "Lenin in Gorki – sickness and death. (Source notes) "under the pseudonym N. Petrenko was in the almanac "Past "(Paris). - 1986. - No. 2. S. 143 - 287; the next one is in "Knowledge is power". - 1990. - No. 4, 6, 7.

3 In one of the last publications of B. Ravdin, in the article “At the Great Grave”, written by him together with A. Khanyutin, such a possibility seems to be already admitted: “Meanwhile, by the end of the summer, Lenin’s condition improved markedly. He demanded newspapers, began to take an interest in his party comrades and, judging by some episodes, showed a desire to break the strict isolation regime established in Gorki, partly for medical, partly for political reasons. This desire, apparently, served as one of the reasons for his last trip to Moscow, which took place on October 18-19. - Angles. - Issue. 2. - M., 1998. - S. 88.

507

4 Doroshenko V., Pavlova I. Last trip // Altai. - 1989. - No. 4. - S.
3 - 18.

508

5 Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Biographical chronicle. December T. 12.
1921 - January 1924. - M., 1982. S. 614.

6 Communist opposition in the USSR. 1923 - 1927. V. 1. S. 56.
Not everyone agrees with this statement. Yu. A. Buranov, for example, even after reading this document, believes that it was not the "Letter to the Congress" that was discussed at that time, but Lenin's notes on the State Planning Committee, dictated on December 27, 28, 29, 1922 and later called "On giving legislative functions Gosplan." See: Buranov Yu.A. On the history of Lenin's political testament // Vopr. history of the CPSU. 1991. No. 4. S. 53.

510

7 RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 84. D. 563. L. 22.

511

8 Zubov N. They guarded Lenin. - M., 1981. - S. 223.

512

9 Lopukhin Yu.M. Illness, death and embalming V.I. Lenin. - M., 1997. - S. 17, 18, 43, 55.

513

10 Biographical chronicle. - T. 12. - S. 625.

514

11 Proletarian revolution. 1923. No. 9. S. 227 232.

515

12 Biographical chronicle. T. 12. S. 650.

516

13 Ibid. - S. 638 - 639.

14 Valentinov N. (N. Volsky). New economic policy and the crisis of the party after the death of Lenin: Years of work in the Supreme Economic Council during the NEP. Memories. - M., 1991. - S. 109 - 110.

518

15 Ravdin B., Khanyutin A. At the Great Grave // Perspectives. - Issue.
2. - M., 1998. - S. 88.

519

16 GANO. F. P-1. Op. 2. D. 352. L. 8.

520

17 Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) - VKP (b): Agenda of the meetings. Catalog. T. 1. 1919 - 1929. - M., 2000. - S. 248 - 249.

521

18 Biographical chronicle. - T. 12. - S. 639.

522

19 Lopukhin Yu.M. Illness, death ... - S. 31.

20 Biographical chronicle. - T. 12. - S. 662, 664. Finding out the causes of Lenin's death is a special topic. Most authors are inclined to the version of his poisoning and the decisive role of Stalin in this. – See for more details: Avtorkhanov A. Did Stalin kill Lenin // Daugava. - 1990. - No. 9. - P. 58 - 70; Felshtinsky Yu.G. The mystery of Lenin's death...S. 34 - 63. There are other versions. So, in the article: Bystrov I. The last conspiracy of the Ulyanov brothers // Capital. - 1992. - No. 3. - P. 8 - 11 considers the version of Lenin's suicide. According to this author, Lenin was helped by his brother Dm. Ulyanov and the manager of the state farm "Gorki" A.A. Preobrazhensky, trying to save him from the expected new bout of "progressive paralysis, which was to smash Lenin completely." It should also be added that in the surviving history of Lenin's illness, there are no tests of both blood and the digestive system. – Lopukhin Yu.M. Illness, death... - S. 36, 39. According to Dr. V. Flerov, toxicological studies were not carried out at all. - Dr. Flerov V. Illness and death of Lenin // Nezavisimaya gazeta. - 1991. - 21 Jan.

524

21 Trotsky L. Stalin. - M., 1990. - T. 2. S. 280.

525

1 History of the CPSU (b): A short course. M., 1945. S. 253.

526

2 See: History of the CPSU in six volumes. T. 4. Book. 1. M., 1970.

3 See, for example: Ivanov V.M., Shmelev A.N. Leninism and the ideological and political defeat of Trotskyism. L., 1970; Vaganov F.M. Right deviation in the CPSU(b) and its defeat (1923-1930). M., 1970; Chigrinov G.A. Defeat of the right-wing capitulators. M., 1969 and other works.

528

4 Questions of the history of the CPSU. 1987. No. 7. S. 145.

5 All assessments used until recently to characterize the opposition to the Stalinist factional group in the party are pro-Stalinist and do not reflect the essence of the disagreements that took place during the intra-party struggle of the 1920s. Therefore, I use them together with the words so-called (abbreviated so-called)

530

6 Vasetsky N.A. I went to Lenin with fights. (Lenin and Trotsky. On the characteristics of the relationship. 1920 1924). M., 1991. S. 53 54.

7 This assertion is refuted by many of Trotsky's own statements. Here, for example, are the lines from his "Letter to an Unknown Addressee" dated September 21, 1926: "You personally, in my opinion, are mistaken if you think that the economy in the current conditions can be improved by measures of war communism and increased pressure. Such exceptional measures can produce results for a relatively short period, when the masses feel that there is no other way out. But under the conditions of the long-term construction of socialism, labor discipline must rely more and more on initiative and the growing interest of workers in the results of their own labor. 1923 - 1927. Vol. 2. S. 76.

532

8 Plimak E. Political testament of V.I. Lenin: Origins, essence, fulfillment. M., 1989. S. 159.

533

9 Bordyugov G., Kozlov V. Time of difficult questions // Pravda.
1988. 30 Sept., 3 Oct.

10 Emelyanov Yu.V. Trotsky's latest political programs and forecasts // Sociological Studies. 1990. No. 5. P. 67 71. The evolution of this author received a complete expression in his apologetic two-volume book about Stalin, published in 2002.

535

11 Trotsky L. New course. (Letter to party meetings) // Young communist. 1989. No. 8; He is. Stalinist school of falsifications. (Corrections and additions to the literature of epigones) // Vopr. stories. 1989. No. 7 9; He is. National in Lenin // Motherland. 1989. No. 7 and others.

536

12 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1990. No. 5, 6, 10.

537

13 IVF. 1989. No. 9, 10.

538

14 The author who consistently developed the concept of the Trotskyist alternative in his books was V.Z. Rogovin. About the period 1922 - 1927 see his book Was There an Alternative? "Trotskyism": a look through the years. M., 1992.

539

15 Davis R. Danilov V.: a dialogue of historians // History of the USSR.
1990. No. 2. S. 93.

540

16 Danilov V.P. We begin to know Trotsky // ECO. 1990. No. 1.
S. 62.

541

17 History of the USSR. 1989. No. 6. S. 55.

542

18 Vasetsky N. From the history of the intra-party struggle.
Political aspect. 1922 1925 // Torch. Historical revolutionary almanac.
M., 1989. S. 182.

543

19 Danilov V.P. We begin to know Trotsky // ECO. 1990. No. 1.
S. 52 53.

544

20 Trukan G.A. Political discussion about the ways of building socialism in 1928-1929. // Question. history of the CPSU. 1989. No. 12. S. 88 89.

545

21 Ravdin B., Khanyutin A. At the Great Grave // Perspectives.- Vol. 2. - M., 1998. - S. 87-88, 95-96.

546

22 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1990. No. 10. P. 172. For the first time a letter Trotsky published the Socialist Bulletin on May 28, 1924.

547

23 True. 1924. Jan. 12

548

24 Ibid.

549

25 The letter was published in Pravda on December 11, 1923, and then formed the basis of his pamphlet The New Course, published before the XIII Party Conference.

550

26th XIII Congress of the RCP(b). P. 252 (New course. M., 1924. P. 13).

551

27 True. - 1924. - 8 Jan.

28 Max Eastman (1883 1969). In 1922-1924 lived in Moscow, communicated with Trotsky and shared his views. He was shocked by Trotsky's letter disavowing his book. This letter, after being published in the Bolshevik magazine on July 19, 1926, was reprinted by the English communist newspaper The Sunday Worker. Communication between them resumed only a few years later. At Trotsky's request, Eastman translated some of his works, but their relationship was never friendly. M. Eastman went

through an evolution in his views from the recognition of the October Revolution to the rejection of socialism and the complete rejection of Stalinism. "Stalinism," he wrote, is not only no better, but worse than fascism, for it is much more merciless, cruel, unjust, immoral, anti-democratic and cannot be justified either by hopes or repentance. It would be correct to define it as super-fascism." Cit. Quoted from: Hayek F. The Road to Slavery // Vopr. philosophy. 1990. No. 10. P. 128. See also: Shvetsov V.V. Leon Trotsky and Max Eastman: the story of one political friendship // Modern and recent history. 1990. No. 6. S. 141-163.

29 Stalin could not forget this story for a long time. 12 years later, speaking at the February-March plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and calling for the fight against Trotskyism, he again remembered Eastman: "A well-known horde of writers from America, led by the famous crook Eastman, all these robbers of the pen that they are slandering the working class of the USSR, why are they not a reserve for Trotskyism? Cit. by: Shvetsov V.V. Lev Trotsky and Max Eastman // Modern and Contemporary History. 1990. No. 6. S. 161.

554

30 Letters to I.V. Stalin V.M. Molotov. 1925 - 1936 - M., 1995. - S. 14 - 30; RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 3. D. 507. L. 1 - 2.

555

31 Bolshevik (Political and economic biweekly of the Central Committee
RKP) M., 1925. No. 16. S. 68.

556

32 Ibid. S. 73.

557

33 RGASPI. F. 558. Op. 11. D. 129. L. 15 - 16, 47, 64.

558

34 XIV Congress of the CPSU (b). Stenographer. report. M. L., 1926. - S. 274
- 275, 418.

559

35 Ibid. - S. 275.

560

36 Bolshevik leadership. Correspondence. 1912 - 1927. - M., 1996.
- S. 328.

561

37 Op. by: Trotsky L. Stalin's school of falsification // Vopr. stories. 1989. No. 9. S. 129.

562

38 Trotsky L. Stalin. T. 2. S. 184.

563

39 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1989. No. 12. S. 194 196.

564

40 Trotsky L. Diaries and Letters / Ed. SOUTH. Felshtinsky.
Hermitage, 1990. S. 76 77.

565

41 In the literature, there is another point of view on this subject, expressed by G. Nilov. In his opinion, the tragedy of the old Bolsheviks was predetermined by the fact that they covered up the murder of M. Frunze in silence. On November 3, 1925, on the day of his funeral, the last step of their "collective self-deception" was taken, which became "the first step on their steady path to their death. But not spiritual, but physical. The solemnly obedient procession of the Leninist guard behind the coffin of the commander next to his killer became for Stalin obvious evidence of its final spiritual decay and

readiness

"hard-shouldered" self-deception

give up

collective

for the sake of personal self-deception: "Let Frunze, but not me, Dzerzhinsky, but not me, Trotsky." at the same time, he admits the possibility that the date of the last and fatal collective self-deception of the Leninists is given with a mistake of one year, that "the collective self-deception of the upper stratum of the party was buried along with its founder in January 1924."

566

42 Trotsky L. Portraits of revolutionaries. Vermont, 1988, p. 106.

567

43 Trotsky L. Super-Borgia in the Kremlin // Comprehend the cult of Stalin. - M., 1989. - S. 645.

568

44 Communist opposition. - T. 4. - P. 274.

569

45 Ibid. S. 200 and others.

570

46 Stalin I.V. Op. - T. 9. - S. 65 - 66.

571

47 Ibid. T. 10. S. 174 175.

572

48 Ibid. T. 12. S. 69.

573

1 Stalin I.V. Op. T. 13. S. 245.

574

2 Ibid. T. 10. S. 133-134.

575

3 Tsipko A. On zones closed to thought // Severe drama of the people:
Scientists and publicists about the nature of Stalinism. M., 1989. S. 186.

576

4 Marx K., Engels F. Op. T. 3. S. 34.

577

5 Ibid. T. 17. S. 347.

578

6 Lenin V.I. Poly, collected op. T. 31. S. 116.

579

7 Ibid. T. 33. S. 26.

580

8 Ibid. T. 35. S. 266; T. 36. S. 173-174; T. 39. S. 17.

581

9 Ibid. T. 35. S. 204; T. 41. S. 102; T. 44. S. 412.

582

10 Ibid. T. 39. S. 18.

583

11 Ibid. T. 44. S. 204.

584

12 Bazhanov B. Memoirs of the former secretary of Stalin; Krivitsky V. I was an agent of Stalin. M., 1997. S. 89.

13 Historical archive. 1992. No. 1. P. 216. The same data are given in the preface to the book "V.I. Lenin. unknown documents. 1891-1922" (M., 1999). In addition, it says that the RGASPI stores about 3 thousand official party and government documents signed by Lenin, which remained unpublished. According to the authors themselves, employees of RGASPI Yu.N. Amiantova, Yu.A. Akhapkina, V.N. Stepanov, these data require clarification. The book contains 422 documents, 322 of them for the first time. Unfortunately, Lenin's documents selected for publication do not contain anything fundamentally new.

586

14 Smirnov G.L. Lessons from the past. M., 1997. S. 213.

587

15 RGASPI, f. 17, op. 84, d. 540, l. 5-7.

588

16 Annenkov Yu. Diary of my meetings. cycle of tragedy. M., 1991.
T. 2. S. 280.

589

17 Op. Quoted from: Solonevich B. The Conspiracy of the Red Bonaparte. Marshal Tukhachevsky: A documented novel. Buenos Aires, 1958, pp. 133-134.

590

18 Varga E.S. Open after 25 years // Polis. 1991. No. 3. S. 155.

591

19 Belousova Z.S., Nadzhafov D.G. Challenge to capitalism: the Soviet factor in world politics // XX century. Diversity, inconsistency, integrity. M., 1996. S. 87.

592

20 Stalin I.V. Op. T. 8. S. 61.

593

21 Ibid. pp. 62–64.

594

22 Ibid. S. 64.

595

23 Ibid. pp. 68-69.

596

24 Ibid. S. 69.

597

25 Cit. Quoted from: Valentinov N. (Volsky N.). The New Economic Policy and the Crisis of the Party after Lenin's Death. Memories. M., 1991. S. 360.

598

26 Stalin I.V. Op. T. 7. S. 119-120.

599

27 Ibid. T. 8. S. 278-279.

600

28 Lenin V.I. Poly. coll. op. T. 45. S. 376.

601

29 Latyshev A. Declassified Lenin. M., 1996. S. 40, 42.

30 Nikolaevsky B.I. Secret pages of history. M., 1995. S. 184, 185.

603

31 Valentinov N. (Volsky N.). The New Economic Policy and the Crisis of the Party... S. 329.

604

32 Stalin I.V. Op. T. 8. S. 69, 70.

605

33 Ibid. S. 21, 30, 70.

606

34 Nikolaevsky B.I. Secret pages of history. S. 113.

607

35 Stalin I.V. Op. T. 8. S. 65.

608

36 Sakharov A.N. Revolutionary totalitarianism in our history // Communist. 1991. No. 5. S. 60–71.

609

37 New world. 1997. No. 9. S. 83.

610

38 Op. Quoted from: Maryamov G. Kremlin censor. Stalin watches a movie: Memoirs. M., 1992. S. 67.

611

39 Volkogonov D. Stalin. Political portrait. Ed. 4th. M., 1996. Book.
1. S. 204. For a slightly different version of this speech, see: Stalin I.V.
Op. T. 9. S. 173-174.

612

40 Stalin I.V. Op. T. 11. S. 227.

613

41 Ibid. T. 9. S. 126-127, 23.

614

42 Ibid. T. 11. S. 230.

1 Bezrukov G. Why did Stalin come to Altai // *Altaiskaya Pravda*. 1988. December 8; Gaidamakin A.V. Consequences of Stalin's trip to Siberia in 1928 // *Siberians in the struggle for the power of the Soviets, for the defense of the socialist fatherland. Tez. All-Union. scientific conf.* (June 4–7, 1990). Novosibirsk, 1990; Demidov V.V. Grain procurement campaign of 1927/28 in the Siberian village // *Actual problems of the history of Soviet Siberia. Sat. scientific works*. Novosibirsk, 1990. Ikonnikova I.P., Ugrovatov A.P. Stalin's rehearsal of the attack on the peasantry // *Vopr. history of the CPSU*. 1991. No. 1; Hughes J. Stalin, Siberia and the Crisis of the New Economic Policy. Cambridge University Press, 1991; Kurilov I., Mikhailov N. The leader's secret business trip. (Why did Stalin go to Siberia in 1928) // *Secrets of Special Storage*. M., 1992; Demidov V.V., Ugrovatov A.P. Unknown visit // *Land of Siberia*. 1992. No. 1; Ganeev A.K. On the political prerequisites for changing agrarian relations in Soviet Siberia at the end of the 20s (historical aspect) // *XX century: historical experience of the agrarian development of Siberia. Mater. rep. scientific conf.* Krasnoyarsk, 1993; Kosachev V.G. Before collectivization. The trip of I.V. Stalin to Siberia // *Vopr. stories*. 1998. No. 5; Pavlova I.V. Stalin's trip to Siberia. Why to Siberia? // *ECO*. 1995. No. 2; Krasilnikov S.A. Stalin and his emissaries in Siberia in 1928 (culturological aspect) // *Problems of local government in Siberia in the 17th–20th centuries. Issue. II*. Novosibirsk, 1997; Kraus T. *Soviet Thermidor. Spiritual premises of the Stalinist turn (1917–1928)*. Budapest, 1997.

2 This is a note from Stalin addressed to Eikhe: "Syrtsov thinks that I should go to Krasnoyarsk and convene a meeting of representatives of the neighboring districts. Do you consider such a trip necessary in the course of grain procurements in the East? If so, then you agree to leave. The answer is urgent. Stalin." Eikhe replied: "Omsk, comrade. Stalin. Your arrival in Krasnoyarsk and a conference with representatives of the neighboring districts will help us to shake up the apparatus and party activists more strongly, therefore I join the opinion of Comrade Syrtsov. Your decision, also the day, the composition of the meeting, please let me know. Further, Syrtsov's telegram about Stalin's departure for Krasnoyarsk on the night of January 29, 1928 and Eikhe's proposal to convene on his own behalf a meeting of the eastern districts with the participation of representatives of Achinsk, Kansk, Minusinsk, Tulun, Tomsk, Irkutsk on January 31. And, finally, a telegram to Eikhe, sent to the above districts, with a proposal to send their representatives to Krasnoyarsk for a meeting with Stalin's participation (GANO, f. 47, op. 1, file 698, l. 13, 22–28) - Ikonnikova I .P., Ugrovatov A.P. Stalin's rehearsal... S. 72.

617

3 RGASPI, f. 558, op. 11, d. 121, l. 31-34, 42v., 99-101.

618

4 GANO, f. 47, op. 1, d. 651, l. 225.

5 The tragedy of the Soviet village. Collectivization and dispossession. 1927–1939 Documents and materials. In 5 vols. T. 1. May 1927 - November 1929 // Edited by V. Danilov, R. Manning, L. Viola. M., 1999. S. 37.

620

6 Avtorkhanov A. Technology of power. M., 1991. S. 37–48.

621

7 Ikonnikova I.P., Ugrovatov A.P. Stalin's rehearsal... S. 72.

622

8 Stalin I.V. Op. T. 11. S. 2.

623

9 GANO, f. 47, op. 5, d. 68, l. 160.

624

10 Basovich M. Taxes and the opposition // To the discussion about work in the countryside (marked "Only for party members"). Novosibirsk, 1927. S. 182.

625

11 News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1991. No. 5. S. 201.

626

12 Ibid. S. 194.

627

13 GANO, f. P-2, op. 1, d. 2571, l. 348.

628

14th Plenum of the Siberian Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks March 3–7, 1928. Stenogr. report ("Secret. Only for members of the CPSU (b)"). Novosibirsk, 1928. S. 133.

629

15 Ibid.

630

16 GANO, f. 47, op. 5, d. 68, l. 240.

631

17 Ibid. L. 197–199.

632

18 Stalin I.V. Op. T. 11. S. 49.

633

19 Ibid. S. 51.

634

20 "Art. 107. Malicious increase in the prices of goods by buying up, concealing or not placing them on the market - imprisonment for up to one year with or without confiscation of all or part of property.

The same actions when establishing the existence of a conspiracy of traders - imprisonment for up to three years with confiscation of all property. - The Criminal Code of the RSFSR. M., 1932. S. 56.

635

21 Stalin I.V. Op. T. 11. S. 3.

636

22 GANO, f. P-5a, op. 1, d. 129a, l. 161.

637

23 III Siberian Party Conference. Stenogr. report. Novosibirsk,
1927. S. 253.